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IVAN THE TERRIBLE'S STICHERA: THE IDEA OF RUSSIA'S SPIRITUAL ELEVATION*

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Based on extensive written sources, the authors of this article have for the first time examined two chant cycles created by Ivan the Terrible: one dedicated to St. Peter the Metropolitan of All Russia and the other in honour of the Vladimir Theotokos (Mother of God). The researchers have paid particular attention to the author's realisation of a traditional Old Russian principle of hymnographical art: to compose chants on the basis of *sample* ("the *podoben*"). The implementation of this principle presupposes following a model completely or partially when the coincidence of separate lines (usually the initial or final lines, or those key to the formation of chants) is admitted. They conclude that Ivan the Terrible displayed a significant degree of creative freedom in revealing the images. He used not only the samples, but also some versions of earlier chants based on them. Ivan the Terrible demonstrated a deep understanding of the original sources, their artistic processing, as well as his education, expressed in the knowledge of the tradition and its creative implementation. In the new historical context of his reign, Tsar Ivan worked intensively over these sources and added a more patriotic sounding content to the cycles. Thanks to the tsar's skill, his stichera are a fine example of the creation of new meaning on the basis of the tradition.

Keywords: Ivan the Terrible, musical hymnographical art, authorship, St. Peter the Metropolitan of All Russia, the Theotokos of Vladimir.

С использованием широкого круга письменных источников в статье впервые исследуется два цикла произведений Ивана Грозного – знаменные стихиры Митрополиту всея Руси Петру и стихиры празднику Сретения

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Владимирской иконы Богородицы. Особое внимание уделяется проблеме авторского воплощения в произведениях царя принципа создания песнопений «на подобен», который был традиционным для древнерусского музыкально-гимнографического творчества. Его применение предполагало либо полное следование образцу, либо частичное, когда допускалось совпадение отдельных, чаще всего начальных, заключительных или ключевых для формообразования произведений строк. Исследователи приходят к выводу, что в стихирах царя проявилась значительная степень свободы в раскрытии поэтических образов, при этом он использовал не только подобен-образец, но и некоторые ранее созданные на его основе песнопения. Грозный глубоко осмыслил исходные источники, ему присущи художественность в обработке текста, образованность, нашедшая выражение в знании традиций и творческом их воплощении. По сравнению со стихирами предшествующих мастеров царь в сложных исторических условиях, проделал тонкую работу над гимнографическими источниками, придал своим циклам государственно-патриотическое содержание. Мастерство державного автора явило прекрасный образец создания в произведениях на основе традиции новых смыслов.

Ключевые слова: царь Иван Грозный, музыкально-гимнографическое искусство, авторское творчество «на подобен», Митрополит всея Руси Петр, Владимирская икона Богородицы.

No other ruler of medieval Russia has had such contradictory assessments of his activities as Tsar Ivan IV ('the Terrible'). However, it is impossible to deny his outstanding and unique contribution to the culture of his time. Tsar Ivan actively worked as a writer and publicist: he was the editor of the official chronicle of his reign and a noted lover of book culture [e. g.: Лихачев; Шмидт]. In his opinion, "his grandparents and parents" had inherited the throne and guardianship of the Orthodox faith from the "Emperor Constantine, first in piety" [Переписка Ивана Грозного с Андреем Курбским, с. 12–13]. As such, he took as his example not only the policy of the Byzantine emperors to strengthen the power of the sovereign, but also their spiritual activities. The creation of hymnographical works had a special significance in the tsar's spiritual life. These works include, for example, his "Canon of the angel, the formidable voevoda" [Лихачев, с. 361–377] and the "Troparion on the bringing of the relics of the Grand Duke Michael of Chernigov" [Памазанова, с. 107–116]. It was noted in Russian and foreign sources that Tsar Ivan knew musical notation and sang with the court choir with pleasure. The Terrible revived the tradition of Byzantine imperial who created musical works as a powerful tool of ideological influence. The aim of this article is to clarify the ideas of the first Russian tsar as given in his musical "oeuvre".

In 1878 the hieromonk Arseniy published a description of the manuscripts in the Trinity-Sergius Lavra library. He pointed out that in one of the scribe Login's manuscripts [РГБ. Ф. 304. № 428] there were some chants (*stichera*) in honour of St. Peter the Metropolitan that belonged to

the oeuvre of Ivan the Terrible [Арсений, с. 146]. Arseniy did not discover a second cycle, a stichera dedicated to the Theotokos of Vladimir that was also accredited to the tsar in the same manuscript. It was Leonid (Kavelin), a monastery archimandrite, who later published both cycles [Леонид, 1886]. He also found a second collection containing chants by Tsar Ivan. Leonid made a detailed description of the manuscript, indicating the chants. Besides this, he reproduced Login's note about the writing of the manuscript [Леонид, 1887]. Thus, the chants of Ivan the Terrible became famous thanks to the discovery of these two collections of stichera, which were written in the hand of Login Shishelov, the famous *raspevschik* (composer) and conductor of the Trinity choir [Парфентьева, с. 92–103].

After Ivan the Terrible's stichera were published, there appeared different points of view on the nature of the tsar's authorship. Archimandrite Leonid thought that Tsar Ivan was both the author of poetic texts and a *raspevschik*. The publisher noted that the tsar was emulating the Byzantine "emperor Leo the Wise" [Леонид, 1886, с. 5]. However, in 1928 N. F. Findeyzen expressed doubts about such an interpretation of Ivan the Terrible's authorship. Noting that "inscriptions in neumatic (*krukovaya*) books, such as 'the creation of Lev the Despot', usually refer to the composition of liturgical texts", Findeyzen concluded "it is difficult to establish the truth at the present time" [Финдейзен, с. 246–247]. Since then, the tsar's works have always been at the centre of scholarly attention. Researchers have revealed new copies of known works indicated by the tsar's name.

A special study of the works considered to belong to Ivan the Terrible in the context of old Russian writing musical tradition showed that only the chants in the *znamenny* style could belong to the tsar's creative works [Парфентьев, с. 51–59]. We mean the two cycles of church holy day stichera. The first cycle in order was dedicated to the memory of Peter the Metropolitan of All Russia (1308–1326). He contributed to the formation of Moscow as a spiritual center of Russia. During Ivan the Terrible's reign, the Russian society honoured Peter the Metropolitan as the founder of the state's spiritual authority. The second cycle is devoted to the miraculous Vladimir Theotokos and is included in the liturgical service, created in honour of the icon's transfer from Vladimir and its meeting into Moscow on 23 June 23, 1480 in order to assist with the threat of posed by Khan Akhmat's invasion. It should be noted that nobody has yet studied the tsar's works in terms of the *znamennyi* musical stylistic version. In this article we will focus on Ivan the Terrible's chanting stichera, on the base of the sample "podoben" in which the tsar applied to the traditional Old Russian principle of musical hymnographic art – similarity ("similar to the sample").

Login Shishelov placed the tsar's chants in honour of St. Peter in a collection of stichera (*Sticheraria*) that he wrote in the Trinity-Sergius Monastery presumably between 1619 and 1624. The chants are placed behind ones

produced earlier and are accompanied by the remark: «Ины стихиры, глас (2) и подобен той же (Кыми похваленными). Творение царя и великого князя Иоанна Васильевича всея Росии деспота» (Other stichera, the mode (2) and is similar to the same *podoben* (*Kymi pokhvalenymi*). The Creation of the Tsar and the Grand Duke Ivan Vasilyevich, Despot of All Russia”). Ivan the Terrible’s cycle consists of three stichera: «Кыми похваленными венецы увяземо святителя» (*Kymi pokhvalenimi venetsi uvyazemo svyatitelya* – “What laudable crowns will be surmounted on the saint”), “Кыми пророческими пении венчаемо святителя” (*Kymi prorocheskimi penii venchaemo svyatitelya* – “What prophetic chanting will crown the saint”) and «Кыми духовными пении воспоймо святителя» (*Kymi dukhovenymi penii vospoimo svyatitelya* – “What spiritual songs will we chant to the saint”) [СПМЗ. № 274. Л. 124об. – 125]. Each sticheron contains almost identical musical graphics (neumes) as in the *podoben*. Their verbal texts differ from the *podoben* they are based on and from each other.

Ivan was well acquainted with this *podoben*-sample. Many chants dedicated to the saints were created on this basis since old times. It is especially important to study the fifteenth – and sixteenth-century copies of this *podoben*, preceding the appearance of the tsar’s stichera. This period can be characterised by a stable type of musical record [РГБ. Ф.113. № 245. Л. 203об.; РГАДА. Ф. 181. № 792. Л. 150]. The *podoben* has a two-part 12-line structure, wherein the semantic content was skillfully put to music. There is no doubt that Ivan the Terrible created the melodies of the stichera dedicated to Peter the Metropolitan on the basis of the *podoben*. It is necessary to determine whether the tsar preserved the musical techniques of revealing content and form in his new verbal texts.

N. S. Seregina has examined the tsar’s three stichera on the basis of the “Kymi” sample taken from Login’s manuscript of the Chudov Monastery: however, this exemplar uses the *putevoy* chanting style [РГБ. Ф. 304. № 428]. Seregina did not analyse the musical content of these stichera set out in a special notation. We consider her conclusions on hymnographical verbal texts to be quite important for our investigation, since they are applicable to the texts which we are studying. Seregina indicates that all three of the stichera created by Tsar Ivan were taken from the service of St. Nikolay (6 December) and were “completely transferred” into the service of Metropolitan Peter: in other words, the poetic texts were “just read-dressed” to Peter. According to this researcher, while there are “minor replacements” in the poetic texts “the chant melody has remained unchanged” and is still on the basis of the *podoben* [Серегина, с. 197–198].

Our comparative textual analysis of the differences between the chant to St. Nikolay and that to St. Peter shows that Ivan changed 34 per cent of the text in his first sticheron, 68 per cent in the second, and 67 per cent in the third. Consequently, St. Nikolay’s sticheron, the second and third in particular, underwent substantial revisions. No less than this, the number of changes increase as the chants progress from the beginning to end and as the cycle continues. It is scarcely acceptable to believe that such changes are insignifi-

cant, especially given that we are dealing with medieval works of art created according to strict rules. Therefore, we cannot agree with Seregina's claim that Ivan the Terrible simply borrowed the text of the stichera to St. Nikolay.

However, we will continue to compare the texts authored by the tsar to those created on the basis of the "Kymi" *podobn* for other services preceding Ivan's birth. Undoubtedly, Tsar Ivan had to know them well, and, as can be seen from the comparison, he knew and used some of them in the course of his works, in accordance with the existing traditions and rules. The sources of his creativity were the chants in honour of saintly hierarchs: St. Nikhcolay the Wonderworker, Metropolitan Peter (these chants were authored by Metropolitan Cyprian), St. Stephan of Sourozh, and Metropolitan Alexy. He also used chants written to praise the Apostles Peter and Paul (table 1).

Table 1

**The hymnographic sources of Ivan the Terrible's stichera
in honour of Metropolitan Peter**

№*	Lines **	Sources ***
1.1	Кыми похвалеными венецы (<i>Kymi pokhvalenymi venetsi</i>)	Nik. 1.1; Pet. 1.1; Pet.-Pav. 1.1
1.2	Увяземо святителя (<i>Uvyazemo svyatitelya</i>)	Pet. 1.1
1.3	Иже плотию в Руси суща (<i>Izhe plotiyu v Rusi suscha</i>)	Nik. 1.3: <i>во мирехо (vo mirekho)</i>
1.4	И духовно всем достизающе (<i>I dukhovenno vsem dostizayusche</i>)	Nik. 1.4
1.5	Иже чисте того любящиимо (<i>Izhe chiste togo lyubyaschiimo</i>)	Nik. 1.5
1.6	Верным предостателя и заступеника (Vernym o predostatelya i zastupenika)	Nik. 1.6: <i>весемо (vesemo)</i>
1.7	Иже весемо скорбным утешителя (<i>Izhe vesemo skorbnyimo uteshitelya</i>)	Nik. 1.7
1.8	Благочестия реку (<i>Blagochestiya reku</i>)	Nik. 1.8: <i>столпа (stolpa)</i>
1.9	И землю русскую (<i>I zemlyu russkuyu</i>)	Pet. 1.9
1.10	Веселящу течении (<i>Veselyaschyu techenii</i>)	Pet. 1.10; Step. 1.10
1.11	Петра теплаго (<i>Petra teplago</i>)	Pet. 1.11
1.12	Предстателя нашего и хранителя (<i>Predstatelya nashego i khranitelya</i>)	Pet. 1.12; Step. 1.12
2.1	Кыми пророческими пении (<i>Kymi prorocheskymi penii</i>)	Nik. 3.1: <i>песнеми (pesnemi)</i>
2.2	Венчаемо святителя (<i>Venchaeemo svyatitelya</i>)	Nik. 1.2
2.3	Нечестию спротивобореца (<i>Nechestiyu sprotivoboretsa</i>)	Nik. 2.3

2.4	И благочестию правителя (<i>I blagochestiyu pravitelya</i>)	Nik. 2.4: <i>побореника</i> (<i>poborenika</i>)
2.5	Освещенного ото пелено (<i>Osvyaschennago oto peleno</i>)	Pet. 2.5; Step. 2.5; Al. 3.5
2.6	Столпа церкви неподвижимаго (<i>Stolpa tserkvi nepodvizhimago</i>)	Pet. 2.6; Step. 2.6; Al. 3.6
2.7	Иже вся злобыня посрамляюща (<i>Izhe vesya zlobenyua posramlyayuscha</i>)	Nik. 2.7
2.8	Потребителя Сеумова (<i>Potrebitelya Seitova</i>)	Nik. 2.8: <i>Ариева</i> (<i>Arieva</i>)
2.9	Реку многихо чюдесо (<i>Reku mnogikho chudeso</i>)	Step. 1.8
2.10	Землю русскую веселящу течении (<i>Zemlyu russkuyu veselyaschu techenii</i>)	Pet. 1.10; Step. 1.10
2.11	Петра теплаго (<i>Petra teplago</i>)	Pet. 1.11
2.12	Предстателя нашего и хранителя (<i>Predstatelya nashego i khranitelya</i>)	Pet. 1.12; Step. 1.12
3.1	Кыми духовеными пении (<i>Kymi dukhovenymi penii</i>)	Pet.-Pav. 2.1
3.2	Воспоимо святителя (<i>Vospoimo svyatitelya</i>)	Pet. 2.2; Step. 2.2; Al. 3.2
3.3	Иже дальняя суща провидяща (<i>Izhe dalnyaya suscha providyascha</i>)	Nik. 3.3
3.4	И отстоящая яко близосуща (<i>I otstoyaschaya yako blizosuscha</i>)	Nik. 3.4
3.5	Пророчествующа неложно (<i>Prorochestvuyuscha nelozhno</i>)	Nik. 3.5
3.6	Иже явлениию Пречистая (<i>Izhe yavleniye Prechistaya</i>)	–
3.7	Первосвятителю являюща (<i>Pervosvyatitelyu yavleschusya</i>)	–
3.8	Дивнаго в чюдесеко (<i>Divnago v chudesekho</i>)	–
3.9	Исцеления всем подавающа (<i>Istseleniya vsem podavayuscha</i>)	Al. 2.8 added.: <i>независтно</i> (<i>nezavisteno</i>)
3.10	Землю рускую веселящу течении (<i>Zemlyu ruskuyu veselyaschu techenii</i>)	Pet. 1.10; Step. 1.10
3.11	Петра теплаго (<i>Petra teplago</i>)	Pet. 1.11
3.12	Предстателя нашего и хранителя (<i>Predstatelya nashego i khranitelya</i>)	Pet. 1.12; Step. 1.12

*The first numeral indicates the number of stichera in the cycle, the second – the number of lines in the stichera.

** The words in bold italics can be found only in the chants of Tsar Ivan.

*** Approved designation of the stichera: Al. – Metr. Alexy [РГБ. Ф. 304. № 414. Л. 497об. – 498]; Nik. – St. Nikolay [РГБ. Ф. 304. № 410. Л. 162об. – 163]; Pet. – Metr. Peter [РГБ. Ф. 304. № 414. Л. 429об. – 430]; Pet.-Pav. – Ap. Peter and Paul [РГБ. Ф. 304. № 409. Л. 129–130]; Step. – St. Stephen of Sourzh [РГБ. Ф. 304. № 415. Л. 275об. – 276].

The Tsar utilised the *podoben* “Kymi” in accordance with old Russian tradition. Long before him, Metropolitan Cyprian had created a cycle addressed to Metropolitan Peter by turning to the same *podoben* used to glorify Sts. Peter and Paul (Peter was of course the name borne by the saintly metropolitan of Moscow). Tsar Ivan revealed the principle of similarity (to compose works on the base of the sample) in a more complex way. The first part of his three stichera corresponds to the opening of the three stichera in the chant cycle of St. Nikolay. There is a certain logic to this process. Firstly, Nikolay and Peter are both saints and thus hold equivalent rank a saint – the head of the Church. Secondly, by appropriating the text from the stichera dedicated to St. Nikolay, the Tsar, stressed for the first time a special spiritual significance of Peter equal in his greatness to Saint Nikolay who was especially revered as the Holy One in Russia.

The tsar asks a rhetorical question in the opening lines (1–2) of the first sticheron: «КЫМИ ПОХВАЛЕННЫМИ ВЕНЕЦЫ УВЯЗЕМО СВЯТИТЕЛЯ» (*Kymi pokhvalenimi venetsi uvyazemo svyatitelya* – “What laudable crowns will be surmounted on the saint”). Ivan chose the verbal formulas that suited his notion of stylistic improvement from several sources. Then, in the first section (lines 3–7), he follows the text from St. Nikolay's first sticheron. The royal hymnographer had an excellent sense of musical form. Following the logic of musical formation, he began a semantically new fragment in the eighth line. Thus, the form of the sticheron is subordinated to the musical structure of the *podoben*. By creating a new unity from fragments of the stichera to St. Nikolay and Metropolitan Peter (as authored by Cyprian), the tsar added new dimensions to the image of the latter. His seemingly minor editorial changes are full of deep patriotic meaning.

In the second chant «КЫМИ ПРОРОЧЕСКИМИ ПЕНИИ ВЕНЧАЕМО СВЯТИТЕЛЯ» (*Kymi prorocheskimi penii venchaemo svyatitelya* – “What prophetic chanting will crown the saint”), the tsar's utilisation of fragments from the stichera to St. Nikolay is inherently more complex. He reworked fragments from the second sticheron of the cycle in honour of Nikolay in lines 1–4, then used parts of Metropolitan Cyprian's second sticheron in honour of Peter in lines 5–6, and finally returned to Nikolay's sticheron in lines 7–8. By saving the two final lines of the model (with the exception of changing the name Ariy to Seit in the eighth line), the tsar made a transition to a semantically new second part. This is an extremely interesting phenomenon. One should pay special attention to the tenth line of the tsar's sticheron «...ЗЕМЛЮ РУССКУЮ ВЕСЕЛЯЩУ ТЕЧЕНИИ» (*Zemlu russkuyu veselyaschu techenii* – “Russian land rejoices over”). This phrase appeared in the ninth and tenth lines of the first sticheron written by Cyprian, who was the first to introduce this phrase. It was mentioned in his cycle only once. However, this metaphor was of great importance for Tsar Ivan. He repeated it in each of his three stichera, and musically emphasised this phrase in the second and third stichera with a sequence

of identical neumes (*stopits*), which meant it had to be sung in recitative. The tsar highlighted and persistently stressed the meaning of these words through having them chanted at the same pitch. Their higher meaning thus emerged with particular clarity. Ivan rendered the culmination of the metaphor as semantically important, repeating it in all his chants. As can be seen in the second sticheron, the tsar stressed, first of all, the national and patriotic significance of Metropolitan Peter's acts. Thanks to Tsar Ivan's edition, the metropolitan's role as a builder, organiser, church leader, and a victorious fighter against all evil and heresy were emphasised. For the first time by using artistic technique of recitative on the words "Russian land", the author emphasised those of Peter's activities which had been of significant use to the country.

The third sticheron, «Кыми духовеными пении воспоймо святителя» (*Kymi dukhovenymi penii vospoimo svyatitelya* – "What spiritual songs will we chant to the saint"), is Ivan's most independent work. He took the opening of this chant from the *podobn*, like in previous ones, thereby conducting a special form of stylistic editing. The tsar appropriated lines 3–5 (those which conclude an antithesis and identify the saint as a visionary) from a sticheron dedicated to St. Nikolay. The subsequent lines (6–8) are unique and were probably authored by Ivan himself. In lines 6–7, the author discloses the hagiographic narrative of Peter's enthronement as First Hierarch, which was preceded by the miraculous appearance of the Virgin Mary and her prophesy. By identifying Peter closely with the Virgin, Tsar Ivan was undoubtedly exalting the saint; in comparison, Cyprian's sticheron neglects this story. For Tsar Ivan, the motive behind St. Peter's special reverence for the Virgin Mary was highly important. As a skilled icon painter, Peter had painted an icon of the Virgin Mary, which, in the course of time, was known as the "Petrovskaya" icon. Under Peter's influence, the Cathedral of Assumption, a stone building dedicated to the dormition of the Theotokos, was built in the Moscow Kremlin; it became Peter's own burial place. In his sticheron, the tsar stressed the great significance of the events in the saint's life, which thus further emphasised the special semantic depth and value of his text for knowledgeable listeners.

The second part of the sticheron concludes with line 7. This leads onto a new phase in the characterisation of the saint in lines 8–9, where Peter is presented as a wonderful miracle worker who offers treatment and healing to all. In this way, Ivan correlated the formation of his own literary texts with the musical form of the *podobn*, thus creating his own version in accordance with the logic of its musical development. As was already noted, semantically the culminating moment of the third sticheron, like in the second, falls on the tenth line, where the tsar highlights the key words "Russian Land" («Землю русскую») with the help of an artistic technique of a recitative.

Thus, Tsar Ivan created his sticheron in honour of St. Peter the Metropolitan on the basis of the "Kymi" *podobn* in strict accordance with the

rules of Church musical art. These rules were consecrated by a centuries-old tradition, and the tsar's work of authorship based on it required great skill. The royal author followed established literary and musical samples, but, as a gifted and highly educated man, did not copy them blindly: rather, he creatively implemented the fundamental principle of similarity. He revealed this in his cycle of chants on several levels.

Tsar Ivan demonstrated the highest level of this principle by revealing the providential and historical significance of St. Peter's endeavour. For the first time the Moscow metropolitan was compared to the great St. Nicholas of Myra in Lycia. Furthermore, the work emphasises that Peter's enthronement as First Hierarch and miracle worker was preceded by the miraculous appearance of the Virgin and her prophecy. This level of using the similarity principle can be referred to the highest sphere of theological and ideological revealing of the Saint's image. The royal hymnographer, conscious of the requirements of his state, decisively raised the metropolitan of Moscow to the greatest possible heights.

The principle of similarity run through the next layer of authorship (verbal). The Tsar created the new texts of his stichera from fragments that derived from a certain kind of primary source: stichera about saints. After completing thoughtful and serious work on these sources, Ivan opened up new facets of Peter's image, thereby enriching it with new meaning. His lines are nothing other than the indication of hidden meanings, which were meant to provoke the collective memory of his contemporaries. His stichera are full of allusions addressed to a knowledgeable audience who were acquainted with the details of the hagiographic narrative of Metropolitan Peter's life. In terms of mastering rhetorical techniques, these stichera present us with a tsar who was a sophisticated literary man, appreciative of stylistic expression. He skilfully uses techniques such as questions-exclamations, anaphora, metaphor, antithesis, panegyric epithets, allusions, polisindeton etc.

Finally, let us note one more level of implementing the creative principle on base of the sample "podoben". The reference to the text of the *podoben* "Kymi" here is not just a tribute to this particular artistic tradition. In his stichera, the tsar retains the number of lines, neumatic formulas (*popev-kas*), initial verbal-neuma formulas which were characteristic of the the *podoben*. However, he does not only do this. The Tsar also used in his works of art the rhetorical techniques specified in the verbal text of the *podoben*. The fact that the musical structure of all three stichera are appropriated from the *podoben* does not negate the skill required to formulate the text of the tsar's cycle; rather, it emphasises it. This work demonstrates a high level of both literary and musical creativity with the framework of medieval church musical traditions.

The next cycle of neumatic *znamenny* stichera authored by Ivan the Terrible are based on the *podoben* dedicated to the Vladimir Icon of

the Blessed Theotokos. This icon is first mentioned in the chronicles in 1155, when Prince Andrei Bogolyubskiy “brought” to Suzdal “an icon of the Holy Virgin” which had arrived earlier from Constantinople [ИЦПЛ, т. 2, с. 482]. After the construction of the Cathedral of the Assumption in Vladimir (1160), the icon became the main miraculous image of this church and of all the principality of Vladimir-Suzdal. With Moscow’s rise as the “capital city” and spiritual centre of all Russia, this most holy icon was gradually moved there. The final transfer of the icon to Moscow took place on 23 June 1480 to face the threat of Akhmad Khan’s invasion [ИЦПЛ, т. 25, с. 327–328]. The holy icon was placed in the new Cathedral of the Assumption (1479). The icon-patroness became a national shrine. There were several religious holidays established in honour of the icon, the most solemn being the celebration of the transfer to Moscow on 23 June. Tsar Ivan deeply honoured the miraculous image. He prayed before the icon on the eve of military campaigns and offered thanks when he returned. On the eve of the attack of the Crimean Khan Devlet Giray and Tartar united army on Moscow, which had lost its defensive fortifications during the raid and fire in 1571, the tsar, his family, and the court went to Velikiy Novgorod in May 1572. The Vladimir Theotokos went with them. Here, on 23 June 1572, they celebrated the Meeting of the Icon. The ceremonial moving of the icon was held in the tsar’s presence. His choristers (chanting or singing *diaki*) sang canons, “many stichera”, and “stichera dedicated to the Mother of God” during the procession and in the Cathedral of St. Sophia [ИЦПЛ, т. 30, с. 161–162]. Devlet Giray’s army, which invaded Russia a month later, was defeated by Russian forces at the battle of Molodi. In late August, the tsar returned to the capital, and the Vladimir Theotokos took its old place in the Cathedral of the Assumption.

As we can see, in the summer of 1572 Ivan the Terrible suffered extremely hard times. It was at this time that he began to compose his spiritual testament (1572–1578), which was addressed to his sons Ivan and Feodor. He instructed his children to live so that the “God of peace”, the “prayers of Christians protectress, the Virgin”, and “the mercy of the honoured Vladimir Icon, the intercessor of the Russian state” («милость честнаго ея образа иконы Владимирския – державы Руския заступление») would always be with them [ДАИ, т. 1, с. 378]. Characterising the miraculous image as an intercessor for the Russian state, Ivan once again stressed the national and state significance of the icon. It had again helped to save Russia on the days of the celebration of the icon, which recalled previous similar events. It is quite possible that the tsar added his new stichera to the celebratory service on 23 June and they were sung by the diaki of the tsar’s choir (who sang “many stichera”).

There are three stichera in Ivan the Terrible’s cycle in honour of the “Meeting the Vladimir Theotokos”. They are made for the Great Vespers on the basis of the first-mode *podoben* «О дивное чюдо» (*O divnoe chyudo* –

“Oh wonder of wonders”): «О великое милосердие» (*O velikoe miloserdie* – “Oh great charity”), «Дивное твое милосердие» (*Divnoe tvoe miloserdie* – “Wondrous Thy Mercy is”), «Твое славяте заступление» (*Tvoe slavyate zastuplenie* – “Glorify Thy Intercession”) [СПМЗ. № 274. Л. 278об. – 279]. This very *podoben* was originally written as the first of the three stichera of the Great Vespers to the Assumption of the Virgin [ПГБ. Ф. 113. № 3. Л. 211об.]. At the end of the fifteenth century, an updated musical text was formed on the basis of this old variant, which included an archaic neumatic notation. It existed until the end of the seventeenth century. This *podoben* variant was characterised by a common neumatic structure which had a high degree of stability.

N. S. Seregina studied those of Ivan's stichera based on the *podoben* “O divnoe chyudo”. She noted that comparing them with the chants from divine services dedicated to Metropolitan Alexiy, the Intercession, and the Assumption of the Theotokos, which are based on the same *podoben*, “allows us to see in the stichera dedicated to the Vladimir Icon more freedom in the development of the melodic stereotype”. The researcher concluded that “the level of creative innovations in the three stichera... is insignificant, and it is only the model that makes them the author's version” [Серегина, с. 234]. This study of Tsar Ivan's *znamenniy* style was done not thoroughly.

The copies of the two stichera cycles with notes indicating Ivan's authorship are central to this study. Alongside the aforementioned version by Login, there is one additional copy discovered by Seregina [РНБ. Осн. О.1.238. Л. 307]. To these copies, one can add the stichera from the late sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries: these do not indicate the tsar's authorship. Three of these manuscripts come from the Stroganov scriptorium [БРАН. Строг. № 44. Л. 893об. – 895об.; РНБ. Кир.-Бел. 586/843. Л. 703об. ; Порог. № 380], while the others have different origins [РГАДА. Ф.188. № 937. Л. 488об. ; РНБ. Сол. 690/769. Л. 315 ; Титов, 2989. Л. 448об.]. We compared all the copies and found some differences between them, although it is clear that they all derive from a common source.

The tsar chose the *podoben* «дивное чудо» (*O divnoe chyudo* – “Oh wonder of wonders”) in accordance with old Russian tradition. On the basis of this sample, authors created cycles of stichera for the services of Assumption, Intercession, Christmas, Presentation, and Annunciation of Our Lady, all of which are widely represented in manuscripts from across the centuries. Such a cycle was missing from the service in honour of the Meeting of the Vladimir Icon, although Tsar Ivan now filled this gap with his creation. By creating his stichera on the basis of this *podoben*, Ivan streamlined the structure of the service in honour of the Vladimir Icon. Prior to Ivan's birth, there were other cycles of stichera modelled after “O divnoe chyudo”, like those to Sts. Peter, Alexiy, Evpatiy the Martyr, and others. When creating his own cycle, Tsar Ivan implemented the principle of similarity in a complicated way.

He took a series of verbal-musical formulas from the *podoben* itself, from the stichera dedicated to the Assumption and Intercession of the Theotokos, and from the stichera in honour of Sts. Peter and Alexiy, Moscow and All Russia Metropolitans.

The tsar selected the sources for his stichera with the utmost care. Obviously, national interests played no small role here. Thus, the active incorporation of material from the Service of the Intercession of the Theotokos had a certain logic. It helped to sustain an analogy between this celebration and the Meeting of the Vladimir Icon. Both holidays had much in common, as they reflected upon the miraculous salvation of Orthodox Christians from invasions when their enemies receded from besieged cities (the miracle of the Theotokos' Appearance with the Omophorion in Constantinople and the miracles of the Vladimir icon in Russia). By borrowing text from the especially revered service of the Intercession of the Theotokos, the tsar stressed the equal importance of these two holidays for the Russian state.

Tsar Ivan was searching for the "similarity" elements of his creation not only in the stichera dedicated to the Intercession of Theotokos. All three stichera of his cycle contain a common final part, which was nearly the same as that of the *podoben*: as was mentioned above, this *podoben* was originally the sticheron from the service of the Assumption of the Theotokos. In the tsar's third sticheron, the text from this service is again manifest. The similarity of the chants is not accidental. The holiday of the Assumption of the Theotokos was the patron feast day of the main cathedral of the Muscovite Tsardom, the Cathedral of the Assumption, which was the home of the Vladimir icon (like previously the Cathedral of the Theotokos' Assumption in Vladimir was). By demonstrating the connection of his stichera with those dedicated to the celebration of the Assumption of the Theotokos, the Tsar once again emphasised the high national and religious status of the Russian holy day in honour of the Meeting of the Vladimir Icon. When we study Ivan the Terrible's stichera, we also find some verbal-musical formulas that dated back to the chants in honour of the Russian metropolitans Peter and Alexy, whose activities had strengthened the Muscovite Tsardom.

Thus, it becomes clear that from the existing chanting cycles based on the *podoben* "O divnoe chyudo", the Tsar selected four sources to create his own chants: the chants dedicated to the services of the Intercession and the Assumption of the Theotokos and the stichera in honour of the saintly Russian metropolitans Peter and Alexiy. He made his own stichera similar to these chants by choosing cycles devoted to the most important religious holidays in the lives of the state and the Russian people. He selected chants in honour of those Russian saints whose acts were considered to be the highest expression of spiritual ministry and of the utmost assistance to strengthening, protecting, and saving their Motherland (table 2).

Table 2

**The hymnographic sources of Ivan the Terrible's stichera
in honour of the Vladimir Icon of the Blessed Theotokos**

№*	Lines **	Sources ***
1.1	О великое <i>милосердие</i> (<i>O velikoe miloserdie</i>)	1.1. PB: <i>заступление</i> (<i>zastuplenie</i>)
1.2	<i>Грешным</i> о еси / Богородице <i>Пре-</i> чистая (<i>Greshnymo esi / Bogoroditse</i> <i>Prechistaya</i>)	1.2. PB. <i>Печальным</i> о еси / Боро- родице <i>чистая</i> (<i>Pechalnymo esi /</i> <i>Bogoroditse chistaya</i>)
1.3	Скорая помощи, спасение и <i>заступление</i> (<i>Skoraya pomosche, spasenie</i> <i>i zastuplenie</i>)	1.3. PB <i>утвержение</i> (<i>utverzhdenie</i>)
1.4	Веселися <i>преименитыи</i> градо Москва (<i>Veselisya preimenityi grado Moskva</i>)	1.4. Pod.; UB. Гепсимания (<i>Gepsimaniya</i>); Al. <i>христоименитый</i> граде (<i>khristoimenityi grade</i>)
1.5	Приемля чюдотворную икону Владычица (<i>Priemlya chyudotvornuyu ikonu</i> <i>Vladychitsa</i>)	–
1.6	Воспоимо верении (<i>Vospoimo verenii</i>)	1.6. Pod.; UB; PB; Al
1.7	Со архиереи и со князи (<i>So arkhierei i so knyazi</i>)	3.2. Pet. Архиереи со князи (<i>Arkhierei so knyazi</i>)
1.8	Обрадованная радуися (<i>Obradovannaya raduisya</i>)	1.8. Pod.; UB; PB
1.9	С тобою Господе (<i>S toboyu Gospode</i>)	1.9. Pod.; UB; PB
1.10	Подаяи <i>намо</i> (<i>Podayai namo</i>)	1.10. Pod.; UB; PB. <i>мирови</i> (<i>mirovi</i>); 3.10. Al. Подающего намо (<i>Podayuschago namo</i>)
1.11	Тобюу велию милость (<i>Toboyu veliyu milost'</i>)	1.11. Pod.; UB
2.1	Дивно твое <i>милосердие</i> (<i>Divno tvoe miloserdie</i>)	2.1. UB. Дивны твоя <i>таины</i> (<i>Divny tvoya tainy</i>); PB. <i>Divny proroche Isaiya</i> (Дивны <i>пророче Исаия</i>)
2.2	Владычице. / Егда бо християне (<i>Vladychitse. / Egda bo khristiyane</i>)	–
2.3	Припадоша ти избавитися, / Пагубнаго заклениа (<i>Pripadosha ti izbavitisya, /</i> <i>Pagubnago zakoleniya</i>)	–

2.4	Тогда невидимо (<i>Togda nevidimo</i>)	–
2.5	Сыну си молящися (<i>Synu si molyaschisya</i>)	–
2.6	Честеным образом люди спасающе (<i>Chestenym obrazom lyudi spasayusche</i>)	–
2.7	Христиане возрадуются поюще (<i>Khristiane vozraduitiesya poyusche</i>)	3.7. UB. Со архангелы и аггелы поюще (So arkhangely i aggely poyusche)
2.8	Обрадованная радуися (<i>Obradovannaya raduisya</i>)	2.8. UB; PB
2.9	С тобою Господе (<i>S toboyu Gospode</i>)	2.9. UB; PB
2.10	Подаяи намо (<i>Podayai namo</i>)	2.10. UB; PB. Подаяи <i>мирови</i> (Podayai <i>mirovi</i>); 3.10. Al. Подающего намо (Podayuschago namo)
2.11	Тобюю велию милость (<i>Toboyu veliyu milost'</i>)	11.2. UB
3.1	Твое славяте заступление (<i>Tvoe slavyate zastuplenie</i>)	3.1. UB. <i>uspение (uspение)</i> ; 1.1. PB. О великое заступление (O velikoe zastuplenie)
3.2	Архиереи и священники, царие и князи (<i>Arkhierei i svyaschennitsy, tsarie i knyazi</i>)	3.2. UB. Власти и престолы, начали и господства (<i>Vlasti i prestoli, nachali i gospodstva</i>); Pet. Архиереи со князи (Arkhierei so knyazi)
3.3	Инокы же и причетники, И всенародное множество (<i>Inoky zhe i prichetnitsy, I vsenarodnoe mnozhestvo</i>)	3.3. UB. Силы и херувимы и страшная серафимы (<i>Sily i kheruvimy i strashenaya serafimy</i>); Pet. И всенародным множеством (I vsenarodnym mnozhestvom)
3.4	Со женами и младенцы (<i>So zhenami i mladentsy</i>)	–
3.5	О святей иконе твоей хвалящися (<i>O svyatei ikone tvoei khvalyaschesya</i>)	–
3.6	Припадают велможы (<i>Pripadayute velmozhy</i>)	3.6. UB. <i>царие (tsarie)</i>
3.7	С воинствы русскими зовуще (<i>S voinstvy russkymi zovusche</i>)	3.7. UB. Со архангелы и аггелы поюще (So arkhangely i aggely poyusche)

3.8	Обрадованная радуися (<i>Obradovannaya raduisya</i>)	3.8. UB; PB
3.9	С тобою Господь (<i>S toboyu Gospod'</i>)	3.9. UB; PB
3.10	[Подаяи намо (<i>Podayai namo</i>)	3.10. UB; PB. <i>мирови (mirovi)</i> 3.10. AL. <i>Подающего</i> намо (<i>Podayuschago namo</i>)
3.11	Тобой велию милость (<i>Toboyu veliyu milost'</i>)	3.11. UB

*The first numeral indicates the number of stichera in the cycle, the second – the number of lines in the stichera.

** The words in bold italics can be found only in the chants of Tsar Ivan.

*** Approved designation of the stichera: AL – Metr. Alexiy [ПГБ. Ф. 304. № 414. Л. 528]; PB – Intercession of Theotokos (Pokrovu Bogoroditsy) [ПГБ. Ф. 304. № 414. Л. 357]; Pet. – Metr. Peter [ПГБ. Ф. 304. № 414. Л. 581]; Pod. – *podoben* (ПГБ. Ф. 304. № 410. Л. 104об.); UB – Theotokos Assumption (Uspeniyu Bogoroditsy) [ПГБ. Ф. 304. № 414. Л. 571об.].

In his first chant «О великое милосердие» (*O velikoe miloserdie* – “Oh great charity”), Tsar Ivan refused to follow the poetic content of the *podoben*. He bases the start of the stichera on the first sticheron from the cycle dedicated to the Intercession of the Theotokos. The first part of his chant (lines 1–3) presents an antithesis between the Mother of God’s charity and the sinful people (in the *podoben*, the antithesis is between “life and death”). In the second part of the chant, there is a call to the city of Moscow to accept the Vladimir icon with joy. The tsar puts his own text into the fifth line, which, together with the previous one, expresses the essential meaning of the holiday: «Веселися преименитый градо Москва, / Приемля чудотворную икону Владычица» (“Rejoicing, the eminent and revered city of Moscow, / Accepted the Miraculous Icon of the Lady”). In the *podoben*, Gethsemane accepts Mary, while in Ivan’s stichera Moscow accepts her miraculous icon. Gethsemane, Constantinople, and Moscow such is a hierarchy of sanctity in Tsar Ivan’s general logic of “similarity”. The fifth line is unprecedented because it was the first time that the miraculous icon had been mentioned in such a chant: no other cycle based on the *podoben* “O divnoe chyudo” makes such a reference. The final part of the sticheron (lines 8–11) is the chanting of the Icon by the etiquette formulas taken from the *podoben*. They praise the Lord’s mercy and thanks to the Theotokos. The musical text of the tsar’s first sticheron generally keeps to the model of the *podoben*.

The second sticheron «Дивно твое милосердие» (*Divno tvoe miloserdie* – “Wondrous Thy Mercy is”) demonstrates Ivan’s artistic freedom at its greatest extent in the musical and poetical aspects, compared to the other works of the cycle (table 2). In the first part, only the opening line loosely recalls the initial lines of the stichera in honour of the Assumption and Intercession. The initial word “wondrous” («дивно») reminds one of this

connection. The first and second parts of the chants are authored by Tsar Ivan (lines 1–7). In his lines, he simultaneously reveals both the horrors of “pernicious slaughter” («пагубного закленья») and the mystical secrets of surprising saving thanks to mercy. The difficult and deep meaning of the whole cycle of stichera is conveyed in one compound sentence.

It is worth noting that in the second chant, like in the first one, the fifth line is given special attention. There is a single instance in the whole cycle when the tsar includes a new *popevka* – the *kimza* (a kind of neumatic formula *kulizma*). This serves as a symbol of the most important semantic point: “praying to the Son (Lord)” («Сыну молящися»). This is a remarkable feature in a chant modelled on a *podobn*. In the context of the authorship, it immediately attracts attention and acquires significance as a special musical technique that emphasises the key semantic content in the tsar’s cycle. The final part of the second sticheron, as was mentioned above, is identical to the final part of the first sticheron based on the *podobn*. Thus, the author creates a balance between his bold interpretation of the first two parts of the chant and a return to rules in the final one.

On the whole, the tsar’s third sticheron is based on the third sticheron dedicated to the Assumption of the Theotokos, with some material borrowed from the stichera dedicated to Metropolitans Peter and Alexy and the Intercession of the Mother of God (table 2). It begins with the line «Твое славяте заступление» (*Tvoe slavyate zastuplenie* – “Glorify Thy Intercession”). Tsar Ivan composed it from the two sources, demonstrating a deep comprehension of literary work in terms of artistic rules. His first line contains the same number of syllables as in the chant dedicated to the Intercession. In the first two chants, the royal hymnographer glorifies the mercy of the Virgin, while in the third he praises her intercession: this is because it is the main meaning and result of the prayer. Later, following a medieval hierarchical spirit, he listed all of the strata of society “praising” the Holy Icon. Two words, “hierarchs” and “princes”, were taken from the sticheron dedicated to Metropolitan Peter, but the tsar inserted the words “priests, tsars” («священники, цари») between them. These words are absent in the sources: Ivan himself introduced them.

The tsar composed the earthly hierarchical structure of Russian society as a reflection of the celestial hierarchy in the third sticheron of the cycle dedicated to the Assumption of the Theotokos. At the top of his hierarchy are the representatives of the Church, the “hierarchs and priests” («архиереи и священники»): they occupy a position comparable to that held by the authorities of Heaven. “Tsars and princes” («цари и князи») are compared with principalities and dominions, and the “monks and clergymen” («иноки и причетники») are the reflections of the Cherubim and Seraphim. By comparing the heavenly and the earthly worlds, the tsar spiritually exalted the image of Russia. The whole hierarchical system was completed by the generalisation: “And the whole people” («И всенародное

множество») (lines 3–4). This is taken from Metropolitan Peter's sticheron, but Ivan added the line: "With their wives and infants" («Со женами и младенцы»). Tsar Ivan included in his chant the most defenceless of his subjects in the hope that the Virgin Mary would not leave them without her "intercession".

In the second part of the third sticheron, the tsar created the fifth line «О святеи иконе твоеи хвлящися» ("Everybody is praising Your Holy Icon"). It should be remembered that the fifth lines in the previous stichera also contained the author's own words (1. Accepting the miraculous icon. 2. Praying to the Son). The fifth lines are key to the semantic content. In the first chant, the icon is accepted, in the second faithful Christians pray in front of it, and in the third they praise the icon for their salvation. As this shows, the fifth line of the third sticheron pulls together the meaning of the text, thereby disclosing the underlying idea of the cycle. In the following sixth and seventh lines, the tsar paid special attention to the lords and warriors among those praying. He again returned to the sticheron of the Assumption. The lords here were the substitutes for the biblical kings while the Russian army stood for the archangels and angels. As such, this prayer almost makes visual the nationwide celebration of the Intercession of the Theotokos and the Meeting of the Vladimir Icon.

Thus, when creating his own version of the stichera dedicated to the holy day of the Vladimir Icon of the Blessed Theotokos on the basis of the *podoben* "O divnoe chyudo", Ivan, as with the case of the stichera to Metropolitan Peter, followed musical-hymnographic examples sanctified by centuries-old tradition. Again, he did not just copy them, but also implemented them creatively, basing his activity on the fundamental principle of similarity. Tsar Ivan created a new hymnographic texts from fragments dating back to a certain range of primary sources – stichera in honour of the Theotokos and the saints. This level revealed the following features of the medieval art: its retrospective character, traditionalism and symbolic parallelism. Thanks to his artistic editing skills, the tsar managed to unite the fragments dating back to different sources into a coherent whole in order to reveal the salvific value of the nation-wide Meeting of the Vladimir Icon. Once again, the author's lines, addressed to a knowledgeable audience, contain hidden meanings that allow them to recall what has already been stored in the religious and historical experience of Russia and in the memory of the contemporaries.

Among the author's innovations, we can note one specific peculiarity of his cycle: the combination of the stichera into a single whole with the threefold supplication to give "us" («нам»), the inhabitants of besieged Moscow, "great grace". In order to highlight the basic semantic centre of the cycle and give it a special power, the tsar applied a musical artistic technique whereby the key fifth line of the second sticheron, a "golden section" in the cycle, is emphasised by a new formula ("popevka kimza"). Attention is drawn here to the meaning of those words which are the most significant for the tsar.

Finally, Ivan the Terrible's creative works on the basis of the *podoben* were characterised by following this musical model. The tsar put the already existing chant of the *podoben* into his new hymnographic verbal texts. His chant not only avoided contradicting the skilful shaping of the verbal text, but also emphasized it. We should remind that in medieval religious music, there was a high level of both literary and melodic creativity.

Thus, despite the strict framework of rules for creating stichera on the basis of *podoben*, Ivan the Terrible demonstrated a significant degree of creative freedom in the revealing of artistic images. The author showed a deep understanding of the original sources, the artistic quality of their processing, his education, expressed in the knowledge of tradition and its creative rendering. Compared to the previous stichera the tsar performed complex work on the sources in new historical conditions. Fusing their parts together with updated semantic modulations, he gave his cycles a new patriotic content. Thanks to his skill, his stichera are a fine example of how to create new meanings on the basis of traditional forms.

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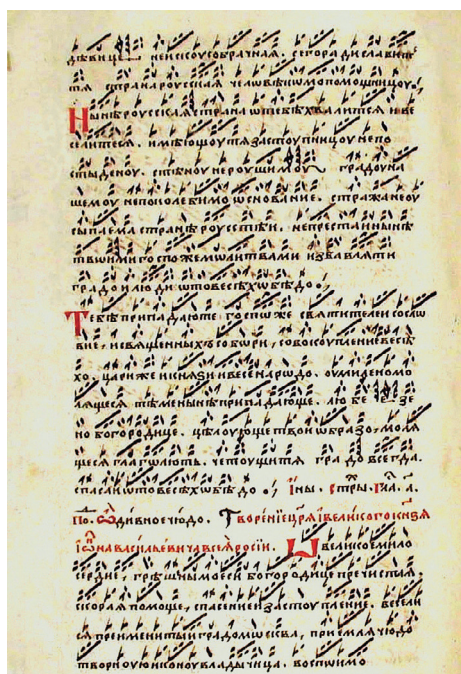
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Ivan the Terrible's Stichera: The Idea of Russia's Spiritual Elevation



Tsar Ivan the Terrible. Painted Portrait. Late 16th Century



Tsar Ivan the Terrible. Stichera for the Theotokos of Vladimir in Imitation of "Oh Wonder of Wonders" [СИМЗ. № 274. Л. 278об.]